

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 244348 TOSEC 150012

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 5012 ACTION SECSTATE 14 OCT 75

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 5012

NODIS

DEPT PASS EMB OTTAWA FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

OTTAWA FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN

DEPT FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM MOYNIHAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR AF

SUBJ: FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE

IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TOM J. FARER,
"CURRENTLY SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS,"
HAS WRITTEN A JUDGMENT OF OUR POLICY

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TOWARDS AFRICA: "BY ITS CONSISTENT BEHAVIOR, THE

UNITED STATES HAS MANAGED IN TWO DECADES TO TRANSFORM ITS IMAGE FROM THAT OF BLACK AFRICA'S BEST FRIEND IN THE WEST TO ITS MOST DANGEROUS ADVERSARY. MOST OF THE HARD WORK WAS ACCOMPLISHED DURING THE NATIONAL STEWARDSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON AND HENRY KISSINGER."

WE HAVE MADE ONE EMPIRICAL CHECK ON THE TRUTH OF MR. FARER'S STATEMENT: WE USED OUR COMPUTER TO MEASURE THE SUPPORT THAT BLACK AFRICA HAS GIVEN US IN THE PLenary OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE OAU. HERE IS WHAT WE FOUND:

1963 35.1 PERCENT
1964 NO ROLL CALL VOTES

1965 29.5 PERCENT
1966 33.5 PERCENT
1967 23.1 PERCENT
1968 29.6 PERCENT
1969 30.0 PERCENT
1970 28.0 PERCENT
1971 39.6 PERCENT
1972 34.7 PERCENT
1973 27.6 PERCENT
AVERAGE 31.1 PERCENT

WE ADJUSTED THE FIGURES ON THE GENEROUS SIDE FOR THE EARLY YEARS, TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF LATE NEW MEMBERSHIPS IN EACH ASSEMBLY. ONE SHOULDN'T MAKE TOO MUCH OF THE PRECISE NUMBER FOR ANY GIVEN YEAR, SINCE SOMETIMES FEW VOTES, OR VOTES OF VARYING IMPORTANCE, WERE INVOLVED. BUT NOTE: THE AVERAGE LEVEL OF BLACK AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR US HAS HOVERED UNDER A THIRD. THESE COUNTRIES DISAGREED WITH US OR, AT THE VERY LEAST, DIDN'T BOTHER TO SHOW UP AND SUPPORT US.

THERE HAVE BEEN FLUCTUATIONS. THE LOW POINT OF OUR RELATIONS, IN TERMS OF THIS VOTE COUNT, WAS 1967; THE HIGH POINT 1971. IN TRUTH, THERE HAS

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BEEN NO REAL CHANGE. FROM THE BEGINNING WE HAVE GOT ONLY A MINIMUM OF SUPPORT FROM AFRICA. (WHICH, OF COURSE, LOOKS AT THE FIGURES FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW.)

FOR WHAT LITTLE IT IS WORTH, THE OAU AVERAGE FOR 1971-73 IS 32.0 PERCENT. THE SOVIET UNION AVERAGE IS 33.9 PERCENT. WHICH IS TO SAY WE GET AS MUCH SUPPORT FROM BLACK AFRICA NOW AS WE DO FROM THE RUSSIANS. (RUSSIAN SUPPORT WENT UP

DRAMATICALLY IN 1971, AND HAS STAYED THERE.)

I REPORT THIS TO YOU IN PART LEST
THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE LEAD YOU TO SUPPOSE
THAT SOME CARELESS REMARK BY YOU HAS JEAPORDIZED
OUR SUPPORT IN THE OAU.

ALSO TO SHOW THAT KEEPING TRACK OF VOTES CAN HELP
SET THE GECORD STRAIGHT. A RECORD THAT OBVIOUSLY COULD
BE IMPROVED.
MOYNIHAN

UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL

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